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THE  
RISE and PROGRESS  
OF THE  
*PAPAL POWER.*

*N. Aubert de Vertot D'Aubeneppe.*

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Translated from the French of the Abbe VERTOT.

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By JOHN STACIE, Esq;

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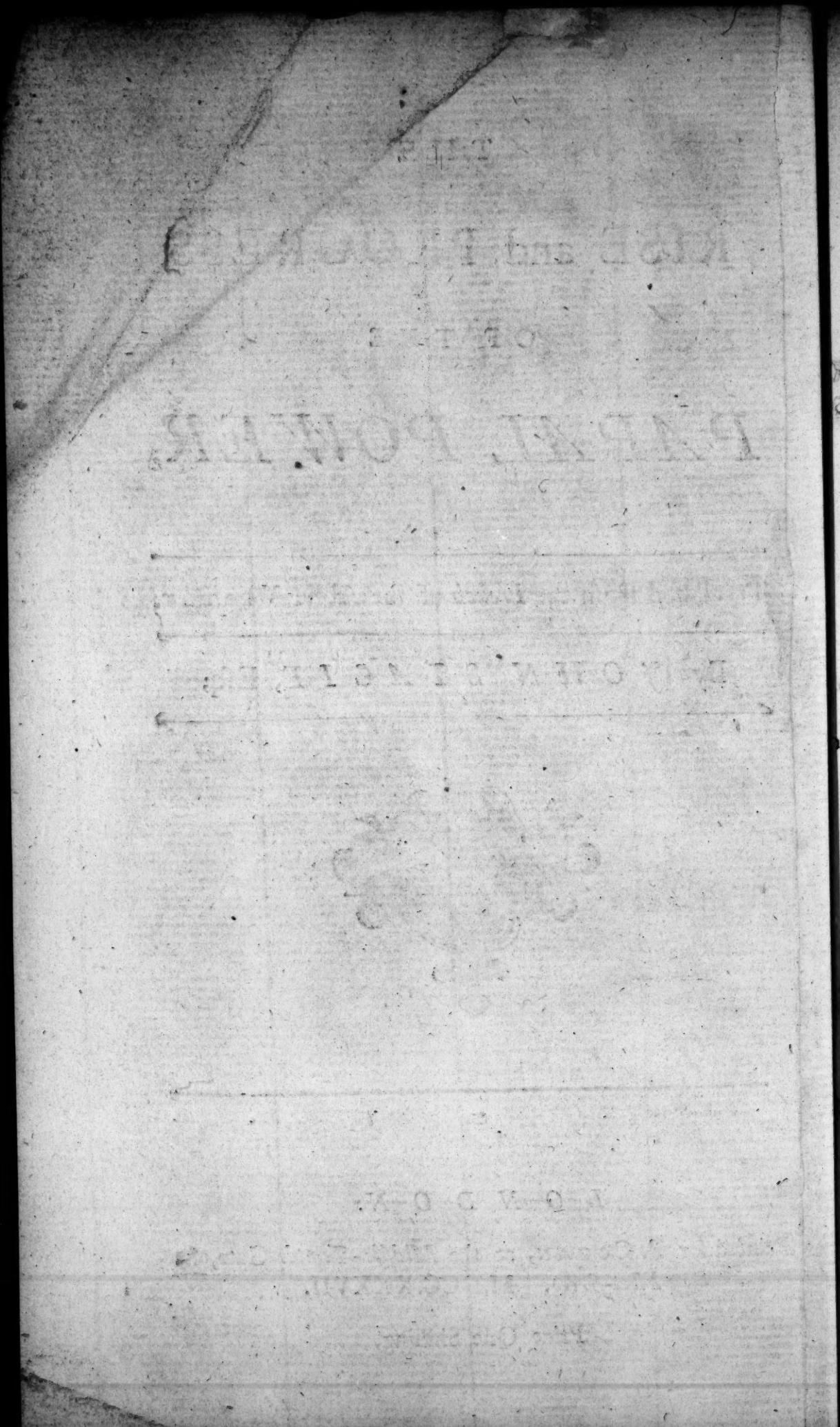


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THE  
PUBLISHER  
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**T**HE Writings of the late Abbé Ver-  
tot having been always highly agree-  
able to Persons of Learning and  
Taste, I doubt not but the Publi-  
cation of this Piece will be equally  
acceptable to them. As that learned and judicious  
Writer treats in it, with his usual Impartiality and  
Disinterestedness, a Subject sufficiently delicate, he  
did not think proper to publish it during his Life;  
and it was from one of his Friends, to whom he  
had left that Care, I obtained the Manuscript, from  
which this present Edition is printed.

This is the Account the Printer of the French Edition gives of this posthumous Tract, which has all the Appearances of being the genuine Work of the celebrated Person to whom it is ascribed. But whether it be so or not; or is made publick for some secret Views of the Court of France, or of the Galli- can Church; the Publisher of this Translation was advised to print only that Part of it, which might entertain and inform an English Reader. This is the Section, where the Author re-  
lates the Conduct and Arts, by which the Roman Pontiffs acquired, or rather usurped, a temporal Power

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*Power and independant Sovereignty in Italy. The Author styles this Head, The Origin of the Grandeur of the Court of Rome, or, according to the Title-Page of this Pamphlet, The Rise and Progress of the Papal Power.*

The other two Articles, viz. the Nomination of Bishops, and Election of Abbots in France, was conceived to be too dry and unaffected for our Meridian: Wherefore the Publisher thought proper to add only a brief Account of them in this Place; which may serve as a general Abstract of what they contain.

Those Articles consist of Abundance of Proofs, that the Kings of France had anciently the sole Right to nominate Bishops to the vacant Sees, and many Instances of the Endeavours of the Popes to usurp it from them.

The first Attempt upon the Liberty of the Gallian Church, and the Right of Nomination to Bishoprics, was made by Pope Sergius II. who either taking the Advantage of a Civil War between Lotharius, Lewis Germanicus, and Charles the Bald, or in Compliance with the Request of Dreux, Bishop of Metz, Charlemagne's natural Son, made that Prelate his Legate in Gaul, with such Extent of Powers, as had never been known before in the Gallian Church, amongst which was That of examining the Bishops and Abbots upon their Election; this was in the Year 833. Upon a vigorous Opposition of the French Bishops, this extraordinary Legation was dropt.

The Popes however did not stop there. Nicholas II. who, as Historians say, commanded the Kings and Princes of those Times, as if he had been supreme Monarch of the World, by the artful Management of the Divorce and Re-marriage of Lotharius the Younger, assumed to himself the Election of Bishops in that Prince's Part of the French Dominions; tho' be

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he did not do the same openly in the Kingdoms of Charles the Bald, and Lewis Germanicus.

The Popes Nicholas II. and Alexander II. taking Advantage of Philip I's Indolence in the latter Part of his Reign, were extremely active 'for establishing what they called the Liberty of the Church; which implied no less, than making the Clergy intirely independant of the Kings, in order to their sole Dependance on the Church of Rome.' Their Successors were equally zealous for the same Effect.

'The Bishops, says our Author, having very great Power in the Kingdom, the Popes believed they could not effect their great Design, for extending the Authority of the See of Rome, without attaching them solely to themselves; and the only Means to this, was to have it in their Power either to give them the Bishopricks, or maintain them in those Sees, if they concurred in their Scheme; and to deprive them, if they opposed it. The View of the Popes therefore was either to assume to themselves, exclusively of all others, the Nomination to the Bishopricks; or, at least, if they should not nominate, the Right to determine the Validity of Elections to them, and to deprive the Kings of that Right. They resolved also to have a Part in those Elections, either by themselves, or their Emissaries, from which Right the Kings were to be excluded. In fine, they were determined to deprive the Kings both of the Right to confer the Temporalities of the Bishopricks upon the Bishops elected, and to receive the Oaths of Fidelity from them. To this End they prohibited, to Ecclesiasticks, the accepting any Benefices from the Kings; and to the Kings, and other temporal Powers, the conferring Ecclesiastical Dignities, and the granting Investitures of Bishopricks and Abbacies; forbidding, at the same Time, all Bishops, Abbots, and other Ecclesiasticks, to take any Oaths of Fidelity to Kings or Lay-Lords.

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Tho' this was looked upon as a very crying Innovation, and equally contrary to the Sense of the ancient Popes, and a Right the Kings of France held by long Prescription; and notwithstanding the various Contests such Attempts had occasioned (the Examples of which compose almost the whole Matter of the two last Articles we are speaking of) Pope Pascal II. in a Council held by him at Troyes in Champagne in the Year 1107, past a Decree, ‘prohibiting Ecclesiasticks to receive Bishopricks, or rather Benefices, from Lay Persons, and depriving Lay Persons of all Right to confer Church-Preferments: Which put an End to the Nomination of Bishops by the Kings of France.’

Thus, thro' the Ignorance and Superstition of the Times, the Fear, Interest, and Collusion of the Clergy, the Influence and Intrigues of well instructed Legates, the Weakness of Governments, and favourable Conjunctions (especially when the State or Princes were involved in Difficulties) the Roman Bishops found Means to divest the Kings of France of their Rights over the Church, and to subject the Clergy to their own usurped Power.

Their Conduct, with Regard to Abbacies, was much of the same Nature; the Nomination to which they endeavoured to appropriate to themselves, and even gave them in Commendam. ‘However, the Kings, says our Author, were much less disturbed by them in the Election of Abbots, than in the Nomination of Bishops:’ For what Redson it is easy to surmise.



THE  
RISE and PROGRESS  
OF THE  
*PAPAL POWER.*

**T**HE spiritual Power of the Keys alone, had occasioned the Majesty of the Holy See to be revered more than seven hundred Years, when the Popes *Gregory II.* and *Gregory III.* undertook, with the Aid of this purely spiritual Authority, to acquire a temporal Dominion ; and to add a Portion of Empire to the Priesthood. Till the Reign of *Constantine the Great*, the Successor of St. Peter had inherited only his Chains and Persecutions, which often terminated in Martyrdom. But when that Prince had obtained the Empire, Persecution ceased ; the Number of Believers visibly augmented ; Christianity, under a Christian Emperor, soon became the reigning Religion ; and *Constantine* honoured the Ministers of that God-made-Man with his Favours, from whom he professed to have received his Victories and Empire.

From that Time were added to a Dignity purely spiritual, Castles, Lands, Revenues, with all the Splendor and Honours consequential of considerable Riches. However, these Honours and Riches were not yet attended with Power and Dominion; and though Constantine afterwards transferr'd the Seat of his Empire to *Byzantium*, which from his own Name he called *Constantinople*, the sovereign Authority of that Prince, and his Successors, was not thereby less absolute in *Rome*, and over the rest of *Italy*.

The Popes were at most only the first of their Subjects; even the Election of those Pontiffs was not valid, without the Approbation and Consent of the Emperors. Those Princes kept particular Governors at *Rome*, and in the principal Cities of *Italy*, subordinate to a Governor General, known in History under the illustrious Title of *Patricius* and *Exarch* (*princeps eximus*); the Authority of these great Officers was supported by different Bodies of Troops, which incamped either in the Territory of *Rome* or near *Ravenna*, and served at once to support the Power of the Emperors, and to repel the Incursions of the various barbarous Nations, that in the fifth Century had successively possessed themselves of Part of *Italy*.

The *Heruli* were the first who reigned there; to whom the *Ostrogoths* succeeded; and both People extended their Dominion even over the City of *Rome*. The Popes under them paid Obedience to Kings, who were either *Infidels*, or *Arians*. *Belisarius* and *Narses* the Eunuch, the Emperor *Justinian's* Generals, destroyed the Monarchy of the *Goths*, and re-established the Dignity of the Empire. A Court Intrigue, which is nothing to the present Subject, having occasioned the General *Narses* to be recalled, the *Lombards*, other *Barbarians*

rians who came from *Pannonia*, over-ran those rich Provinces, and, towards the End of the sixth Century, possessed themselves of that Part of *Italy*, extending from the *Alps* to *Tuscany* inclusively. Their King *Alboinus*, after having taken *Verona*, *Vicentia*, *Milan*, and most of the Cities on this Side of the *Po*, had fixed the Seat of his Empire at *Pavia*.

The Successors of *Alboinus*, no less warlike and enterprizing, were solely intent on preserving this Infant Monarchy by new Conquests. Several Captains, or Dukes, of that Nation threw themselves into the *Gauls*, and the Dominions of *Gontran*, King of *Burgundy*, where at first they put all to Fire and Sword. But having been surprized and defeated by *Mummol*, *Gontran's* General, by way of Amends for their Incursions, they were obliged to deliver up the Cities of *Aoust* and *Susa*; and were only granted Peace, and the Alliance of the *French*, upon Condition of an annual Tribute of twelve thousand Crowns, which was duly paid by their Kings *Autharick*, *Antharick*, or *Antharit*, and *Agalulphus* or *Agisulfus*; but the Successors of those Princes found Means to discharge themselves of that Burthen.

The *Lombards*, driven back into *Italy*, confined their Views of Conquest to that Country. Its great Provinces became the Theatre of an almost continual War, between that Nation and the Generals of the Emperors. Besides the Armies, which the Country furnished the Exarchs, and which were composed of *Romans* and *Italians*, the Emperors from Time to Time sent Bodies of Troops from the Heart of *Greece* into *Italy*. But the *Arabians* and *Saracens*, keeping afterwards all the Forces of the Empire employed, that Supply ceased; the *Lombards* prevailed, and *Agilulphus*,

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one of the Kings we have just mentioned, in order to render his Government less odious to the *Italians*, abjured the *Arian Heresy* about the Year 593. His Successors insensibly extended their Conquests to the Gates of *Rome*; and, in the eighth Century, the Emperors of the East possessed only in *Italy*, *Rome* with its Territory, *Ravenna*, *Pentapolis*, *Pouillia*, and *Calabria*.

The Authority of these Princes was not less declined in *Italy*, than the Extent of their Dominions; every thing argued the Remoteness of the Sovereign, and the Weakness of the Government. The subordinate Commanders and Officers believed they had a Right to explain the Orders of the Exarch according to their Caprice and Interest; their mutual Jealousy fomented these Divisions; whilst only the Fear of the *Lombards* united them in Appearance, though most of them were suspected and odious with each other.

The Popes themselves were grown remiss in the Obedience due to their Sovereigns; under Pretext, that some of those Princes favoured Errors contrary to the Doctrines and Discipline of the Church; and though those Pontiffs defended a good Cause, it was sometimes with more Haughtiness and less Respect, than consisted with the indispensable Duty of Subjects; as we shall soon see in regard to the Heresy of the *Iconoclasts*, which made way for the Attempts of the Popes upon the temporal Power of the Emperors.

*Leo Isauricus*, a Person of obscure Birth, owed the Empire solely to his extraordinary Valour: he did not attain it, till he had passed through all Degrees of the military Life; and supported himself upon the Throne, during almost two Years afterwards, by a Series of Victories and Successes, which made him equally feared and respected by his

his Neighbours and Subjects. In this high Degree of Power, and the absolute Authority always consequential of so advantageous a Fortune, he was easily persuaded, that he had no less Right to determine in the Affairs of Religion, than in those of civil and military Government ; and a Syrian, named *Bezerus*, by Religion a *Mahometan*, in whom he placed great Confidence, having represented the Worship paid to Images by the Christians as mere Idolatry, he caused them to be removed out of most of the Churches in *Constantinople*, by the Intervention of his Authority in a forcible Manner.

*Germanus*, Patriarch of the imperial City, opposed these Innovations with invincible Courage ; and was supported by that Part of his Clergy, who had no Expectations from the Court, by the greatest Part of the People, and especially by the Women, who were zealously affected for this kind of Devotion, and expressed no less Warmth in Defence of Images, than if the most sacred Mysteries had been in Question.

The Court acted at first with great Moderation in regard to the Patriarch, whose Wisdom and Piety were acknowledged, even by his Enemies, and who to an extraordinary Modesty, so becoming high Dignities in the Church, added extensive Charity for the Poor, the most obliging Goodness, and an extreme Affability to all Mankind. The Emperor, to bring him over, at first made use of Caresses, and proceeded afterwards to Menaces. But finding him inflexible, his Constancy was made criminal against the State, (which, even under better Princes, is always the Crime of the Innocent, and of those they would destroy.) Some Prelates came into this Design out of Complacency for the Prince, (the only Divinity *Court-Bishops* really adore.)

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An Ecclesiastical Assembly was held in the Palace, but without any legal Citation. The Court-Party presided in it: So that the Error was made canonical; and the Worship of Images prohibited. The holy Patriarch was deposed as a Favourer of Idolatry, and banished into a Monastery, where he ended his Days. Some Historians even pretend, that the Emperor caused him to be put to Death, to remove a Witness of his Injustice, and an Enemy of his Error.

That Prince became an Arch-Heretick without Learning; and jealous of an Opinion he did not understand, determined to have it received in *Italy*; especially in *Rome*, and by the Pope. *Leo* sent solemn Edicts to *Paulus* the Exarch, by which he proscribed the Worship of Images, decreed that they should be thrown down and defaced in all Churches, and declared all Rebels, who should not obey those Imperial Constitutions. But this Prince experienced of how little Authority the Royal Dignity is without Force to support it. His Power in *Italy* held no Proportion with the imperious Stile of his Edicts; and Pope *Gregory II.* who was then in the Chair of *St. Peter*, had Influence enough in *Rome* to prevent the Publication of them.

The Popes\*, from the Reign of *Constantine the Great*, had acquired great Consideration in *Rome*, and throughout *Italy*; not only by their Piety, and the Preheminence of their See, but the immense Revenues, which they drew from the several Parts of Christendom, and which most of those Pontiffs applied in adorning the Churches, and relieving the Poor; especially those of *Rome*.

\* *Gregory II.* and *III.* under the Pretext of supporting the Faith against the Emperors, who were *Iconoclasts*, begin to fail in their Obedience to the Emperors.

and Italy, who found an assured Asylum and Support in a Charity, that knew no Bounds, and acquired the Popes the Veneration and Adherence of all the Roman Citizens. *Gregory*, who was not ignorant of the Extent of his Power, strenuously opposed the Publication of the Emperor's Edicts; and the Duke or Governor of *Rome*, who was charged with that Commission, was under the Necessity of giving way to a new Power, so much the more formidable, as it had the Defence of Religion for its Foundation.

*Leo*, accustomed to reign in the *East* with despotic Authority, could not hear without extreme Rage, that *Rome* had presumed to defer the Execution of his Orders. He wrote upon that Subject to the Pope, in the Terms of an exasperated Sovereign, and threatened to order him to be seized and banished as a Rebel.

*Gregory II.* (some say *Gregory III.* his Successor) made answer, That the Imperial Authority had its Bounds as well as the Ecclesiastical Power; and that as the Popes had no Jurisdiction in the Palace of the Emperors, nor Power to confer temporal Dignities; so the Princes had no Right to intermeddle in the Spiritual Government of the Church.

*Gregory*, assured of the Peoples Affection, presumed so far as to retort the Emperor's Menaces with Menaces, and even with insolent Contempt; treating his Sovereign as an ignorant, stupid, senseless Person. He sets as little Value on his Power as Capacity: *In only removing twenty four Stadia (three Miles) from the City of Rome, I shall find myself out of your Dominions.* He adds, that tho' it would be glorious for him to sacrifice his Life in Defence of the Truth, he thought himself however obliged, in this Conjunction, to preserve

serve it, for the Satisfaction of the Catholicks of the *West*, who were very much inclined to avenge the Injuries he did to the holy Images, in the *East*, by the Sword.

In Effect, most of the People in the Cities of *Italy* had taken Arms, to oppose the Execution of the Emperor's Edicts; *Romans*, *Italians*, *Greeks*, even the *Lombards*, Friends and Enemies, were all united for the Defence of Image-worship. The Portraits of *Leo* were publickly trod under Foot: The furious People massacred the Exarch of *Ravenna* in an open Insurrection; and the Governor of *Naples*, with his Son, perished upon the same Account, and in a like Tumult. The Rebellion went so far, that all the People of *Italy*, subject to the Empire, proposed the Election of a new Emperor, and even to conduct him at the Head of an Army to *Constantinople*. The Pope, to avoid the Reproach of being the Author or Accomplice of this Revolt, exhorted the People in publick not to violate the Fidelity due to their Sovereign: But at the same Time he took secret Measures to leave him no more than that Name.

<sup>10</sup> The Greek Emperors drew great Tributes from *Italy*, Part of which was employed in paying the Troops they kept on Foot there, for the Support of their Authority, and the Defence of the Country. The Pope, artfully taking the Advantage of the general Discontent of the People, insinuated to them by his Instruments, that they could not with safe Consciences pay Tributes to an heretical Prince, who would afterwards apply them solely in sending new Troops into *Italy*, in order to establish his Error by Force of Arms. The People were charmed with its being in their Power to make a Disobedience, so much to their Interest,

Interest, a Merit before God. The Tributes were refused; the Soldiery deprived of their Pay, detested the new Opinions, which occasioned their Misery; most of them deserted, and many promised to serve the Pope against the Emperor.

The artful Pontiff, who foresaw that Affairs would not stop here, caused the Walls of *Rome* to be repaired, and sent Money at the same Time to the principal Cities of *Italy* for repairing their Fortifications. His Counsels, supported by his Money, insensibly became absolute Orders; and he put himself into a Condition to preserve an Authority, which he held indeed only from the Zeal and Affection of Rebels, but which might change into a legal Sovereignty: A Project, of which Death forced him to abandon the Execution to *Gregory III.* who succeeded him in the Year 731.

The *Lombards* resolved to take the Advantage of these Divisions, in order, according to their ancient Design, to make themselves Masters of all *Italy*. *Luitprand* was at that Time their King, a Prince whom History represents as an equally pious Statesman and great Captain; but who made his Reputation of Piety subservient to the Execution of his political Designs. He did not fail, as soon as the Emperor's Edicts appeared, to declare against the *Iconoclasts*; and publickly professed no less Aversion than the Pope himself for the Innovators. Most of the small Cities of *Romania*, and the Country of *Ancona*, bordering upon his Dominions, deceived by the Demonstrations of his Zeal, opened their Gates to him, in order to have him for their Protector against the Attempts of *Leo's* Officers, who were for depriving them of their Images. *Luitprand*

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would have been very glad to have introduced himself as easily, and in the same Manner, into *Ravenna*, the Capital of the Exarchate: But the Exarch had made all the Troops he had left march into the Place. So that it was necessary to proceed with open Force; and the *Lombards* were oblig'd to besiege it. The Siege was long and obstinate, from the Resistance of the *Greeks* within the Place, who expected a powerful Support from *Constantinople*. But the King of the *Lombards* having beaten the Emperor's Fleet, the Exarch was obliged to capitulate, and surrendered a Place to *Luitprand*, which facilitated the Conquest of *Rome*, and of the rest of *Italy*.

Such an Enterprize, tho' acted under the plausible Pretext of defending Religion, did not fail to alarm the Pope: The Fear of falling into Subjection to the *Lombards*, a neighbouring imperious Nation, induced him to change his Conduct. He believed it his Interest, in this Conjecture, to declare for the Emperor, tho' an Heretick; but whose Remoteness made his Power less formidable: Whereas, should a Prince so potent and politick as *Luitprand*, make himself Master of *Rome*, and transfer the Seat of his Empire thither, the Presence of the Sovereign would infallibly stifle an Authority in its Birth, which his Predecessor, taking the Advantage of the Troubles, had assumed over the Citizens of *Rome*, and the other Subjects of the Empire in *Italy*.

With this View \*, the Sovereign Pontiff had recourse to *Ursinus*, Duke of *Venetia*, in order to induce him to take up Arms in Favour of the *Greeks*. He represented to him, by Letter, how much he ought to distrust the Enterprizes

\* To attain a Temporal Power, *Gregory III.* labours alternately to weaken that of the *Greeks* and *Lombards*.

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and new Conquests of so ambitious a Neighbour as *Luitprand*; and conjured him in the strongest Terms to employ his Forces for the retaking of *Ravenna*, and restoring it to its rightful Possessors, his Lords, the great Emperors *Leo* and *Constantine* his Son, whom he had associated with him in the Empire. *Ursinus* did not want Information upon what regarded his own Interests: He apprehended, no less than the Pope, the Encrease of the *Lombards* Power, and armed secretly. The Exarch, on his Side, assembled the Remains of his Army; they joined their Forces, and besieged *Ravenna*, before *Luitprand* was apprized of their Preparations. The *Greeks*, in Conjunction with the Troops of *Ursinus*, pushed the Siege with so much Vigour, that the *Lombards*, who were in the Place, and had not had Time to repair the Fortifications, were obliged to capitulate.

In this Manner did the artful Pontiff, who was not able yet to support himself, behave between the two Parties. He had seen with Pleasure the *Lombard* declare himself against the Emperor, upon account of his Heresy: That Conduct of *Luitprand* assured him of a considerable Support against the Attempts of *Leo*'s Officers. But when he was afraid that the same *Lombards*, however zealous for the Worship of Images, might make themselves Masters of *Rome* and the rest of *Italy*, he formed a League against them, and armed the People of *Italy*, under the plausible Pretext of interesting himself as a faithful Subject, for the Preservation of the Dominions of his Sovereign; tho', in Reality, neither he nor his Successors had any other View than to foment Divisions between the *Greeks* and *Lombards*, in order to form a new Dominion for themselves, upon the Ruin of both, as we shall see in the Sequel.

*Luitprand* was not long without distinguishing the real Author of the Siege of *Ravenna*, and the whole Mystery of the Pope's Conduct. He discovered at the same Time, that the Pontiff had entered into secret Engagements with the Duke of *Spoletum* and *Beneventum*, Lombard Lords, who were desirous of throwing off their Obedience to their Sovereign. *Gregory* covered this secret Intelligence with the Cloak of Religion, and the Pretext of his Concern for the Preservation of two Dukes, who had signalized their Zeal for the Defence of Image-worship. But *Luitprand*, who was no less a good Catholick than the two Rebels, was not deceived: He saw plainly, that Policy had more Share in these Engagements than Religion; and that the Pope, to put a Stop to the Progress of his Arms, endeavoured nothing so much as to find him Employment within his own Dominions. He marched first against the two Dukes: Those Lords, who were conscious that they were not in a Condition to oppose their Sovereign's Forces, fled to avoid falling into his Hands. The Duke of *Beneventum* is said to have perished at Sea, on his Way to take Refuge in *Greece*; but the Duke of *Spoletum* retired to *Rome*, where he found an Asylum in the Pope's Protection.

The King of the *Lombards*, after having established his Authority in the Cities of *Beneventum* and *Spoletum*, sent to demand the Duke of *Spoletum* from the Governor of *Rome*, for the Emperor. And, upon his Refusal to deliver him, marched directly to *Rome*, took four small Places upon his Route, ravaged the *Campagna*, and especially some Lands which belong'd to the Pope; and afterwards incamp'd in Sight of *Rome*, which he

he threatened to besiege, unless his rebellious Subject was surrendered to him.

The Pope perceived aright, that he had been too hasty in declaring himself. His Authority was indeed superior to that of the Governor of the City, by the Credit and Influence he had with the People: But that People, tho' terrible to their own Magistrates in a Sedition, were not capable of supporting a long Siege against regular Troops, and disciplin'd Soldiers inured to War. The Emperor's Aid was uncertain; and the Pope besides no less afraid of it than of the Armies of the *Lombards*. In this Perplexity, he made no Scruple to call a foreign Power into *Italy*, contrary to his Duty to his Sovereign.

*Charles Martel* at that Time governed the French Monarchy with absolute Authority, in the Name and weak Reign of the last of the *Merovingians*. That Prince was the Hero of his Times; he had lately triumphed in the Plains of *Tours* over an innumerable Army of *Arabs* and *Sarazens*, who came from *Spain* into *France*, and had over-ran all the Provinces on the other Side of the *Loire*.

*Gregory* wrote very preffing Letters to him, to implore his Protection against the *Lombards*; and by a Conduct which never had Example, in order to obtain the Aid he demanded, he offered *Charles* the Exarchate of *Rome*, and the Dignity of honorary Consul; that is to say, he offered to withdraw himself from his Obedience to his lawful Sovereign, to whom alone it belonged, to dispose of the Government of *Rome*, and to confer those honourable Titles; as *Gregory II.* himself agreed in the Letter wrote by that Pontiff to the Emperor *Leo*, of which we have spoke above. The Pope added in his Letter to *Charles*, that indeed

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indeed St. Peter was powerful enough to defend his Patrimony alone, and to avenge himself upon the *Lombards*, his Enemies ; but that the great Saint rejoiced to put the Affection and Zeal of his Children to a Trial ; and concluded with conjuring *Charles Martel* to give Ear to his Prayers ; lest, said he, St. Peter should one Day shut the Gates of Heaven against him.

This odd Mixture of spiritual Motives, and Interests purely temporal, had no great Effect upon the *French* Prince ; he was, besides, in a strict Alliance with *Luitprand*, who had supplied him with powerful Succours against the *Sarazens* ; and History even tells us, that this Prince, as a Mark of his Esteem for the King of the *Lombards*, had before sent his young Son *Pepin* into *Italy*, in order that he might cut off his Hair (a Kind of military Adoption, which may be considered as the Origin of Knighthood.) *Charles* therefore did not think proper to have any Part in this Affair ; he contented himself with sending Embassadors to the King of the *Lombards*, to desire him to spare some Lands which belonged to the Church of *Rome*, and were called the Courts or Halls of St. *Peter*. *Luitprand*, in regard to him, suspended his Incursions, and retired to *Pavia*, but without abandoning his Conquests.

The Pope, the Emperor *Leo*, and *Charles Martel* died the same Year, 741. *Zachariah*\*, who succeeded *Gregory*, found a favourable Opportunity to bring the *French* into his Interests. *Charles Martel* had three Sons, *Carloman*, *Pepin*, and *Griffon*. That Prince before his Death, had divided the whole Body of the Monarchy between the two eldest, as he had done his Patrimony.

\* The Pope *Zachariah* brings the *French* into his Interests.

He had given *Carloman*, though under the Title of *Maire du Palais*, *Austrasia*, *Suabia*, and *Thuringia*. *Pepin*, in the same Quality, had for his Share, *Neustria*, *Burgundy*, *Septimania*, and *Provence*. But *Griffon* had only a Kind of Principality, composed of some small Territories separate from the Dominions of his two Brothers. *Carloman*, about the Year 745. from the Motive of Piety, renounced secular Greatness; and though he had Children, resigned the Office of *Maire du Palais*, and the Government of the Dominions allotted to him, and shut himself up in the Monastery of *Mont-Cassin* in *Italy*, where he embraced the monastick Life. *Griffon*, of a turbulent Spirit, having taken Arms under Pretext of the Inequality of his Father's Partition, lost all by his Defeat, and was reduced to take Refuge in *Bavaria*; so that *Pepin* re-united the whole *French* Monarchy under his own Administration.

In this high Degree of Power, he wanted nothing but the Title of King, which a young Prince of the Blood of *Clovis*, named *Childeric III.* continued to have. *Pepin* would have been very glad to divest him of that august Title, as he had done of the Sovereign Power: But in whatever Dependance he held the Nobility and Peers of *France*, he did not find them inclined to violate the Oath of Fidelity, which they had taken to their lawful Sovereign. *Pepin*, to remove that Scruple, and give a Colour of Justice, and even an Appearance of Piety, to what he undertook out of pure Ambition, agreed to take the Pope's Advice upon that Head. It was resolved, that Deputies should be sent to *Rome*, in the Name of the whole *French* Nation; but the artful *Maire du Palais*, had the Address to cause that Commission to be given to two of his Creatures, *Burchard*, Bishop of *Virburgh*,

*burgh, or Wurtsburgh, and Fulrad, Abbot of St. Dennis, and Arch-Chaplain of the Palace, or, as he is otherwise called, Arch-Priest of France.*

It was the Custom in that Age to consult the Popes, not only in regard to the Preheminence of their See, but because the Clergy of *Rome* passed for the most Learned, and the best read in the Laws of the Church; and in this grand Affair, the Pope was considered as the greatest Casuist in the Christian World. The French Envoys asked *Zachariab*, which he thought most worthy of the Crown; a young Prince, buried in Sloth and Obscurity, who only wore that Crown as an useless Weight; or his Minister, who without the Title of King, sustained all the Cares and Fatigue of the Government.

The Pontiff, who was not ignorant of *Pepin's* Power, and the Support it might afford him, framed his Answer by his own Interests; the Oracle explained itself in favour of the most powerful. The Pope did more; in following the Custom of those who have no other Views but to extend their Authority, the cunning Pontiff, instead of the Advice asked of him, gave a Permission not asked; and some Historians even pretend, that he assumed the Stile of Command, and decreed that *Childerick* should be deposed, and *Pepin* placed upon the Throne; which afterwards was actually put in Execution; but, only in virtue of a Resolution of the States of *France* assembled at *Soiffons* in the Year 751. in which *Pepin's* Party were stronger than that of the unfortunate *Childerick*.

The new King was the first of the *French* Sovereigns, who added to his Instalment, the Ceremony of Coronation, to soften in the Eyes of the People, what so violent an Enterprize might have in it of odious and unjust; and perhaps to render

render his Person more venerable by religious Ceremonies, and to cover it under the Cloak of Religion, against the Attempts to which Usurpers are generally exposed.

*Luitprand* in the interim had resumed his Arms, and pursued, with great Ardour, the general Design of his Nation. The Pope, who apprehended, that *Rome* would fall into his Hands, before he could receive Aid from the *Greeks* or *French*, went to *Terni* to the King of the *Lombards*; and managed so artfully with that Prince, who was naturally very pious, that he obtained Peace for the Emperor's Dominions. But under the expressed Pretence of discharging the Duty of a good Subject, and labouring for his Sovereign's Interests, he made the whole Advantage of the Negotiation his own; and engaged *Luitprand* to give the Church of *Rome* those four Cities, of which he had possessed himself in the last War, and which *Zachariab* made no Scruple to appropriate to himself, to the Prejudice of his Sovereign.

That Pontiff died about the Year 752. A Priest named *Stephen* was his Successor; but not living above two Days after his Election, as he had not been consecrated, most Historians, according to the Custom of those Times, have not reckoned him in the Number of the Popes. A Deacon of the *Roman* Church, named also *Stephen*, and second of that Name, was placed in the Chair of St. *Peter*, and resumed the Designs of his Predecessors.

Various Revolutions had also happened amongst the *Lombards*. *Luitprand* being dead, *Hildebrand* his Nephew, whom he had associated with himself during his Life in the Sovereignty, was acknowledged his Successor. But he had scarce been seven Months upon the Throne, before the *Lom-*

D bards,

bards, disgusted with his Government, set *Rachis*, Duke of *Friuli*, in his Place. This Prince, to shew himself worthy of the Choice with which the Nation had honoured him, raised a powerful Army, and invaded the Emperor's Territories. The Event of that War is foreign to my Subject.

I shall only observe, that this Prince some time after, from the Motive of Piety, and after the Example of *Carloman*, embraced the monastick Life in the celebrated Abbey of *Mont-Cassin*. The *Lombards*, after his Abdication, decreed the Crown to \* *Aistolpho* his Brother, an haughty Prince, courageous, full of Ambition, and whom we shall see mount the Stage, and dispute the Empire of *Italy*, with *Stephen II.* The *Lombard* with open Force, and Sword in Hand ; and the Pontiff with Intrigues and Address, always covered with the Interest of Heaven ; a Motive of which he made successful Use in embroiling the *French* with the *Lombards* in his Favour.

*Aistolpho* employed the two first Years of his Reign in establishing himself upon the Throne, and in discovering the Forces of his own Dominions, and the Condition of his Neighbours. He even made a Truce of forty Years during that Time with the Republick ; that is to say, with the Subjects of the Empire. But as the Generality of Sovereigns regard the most sacred Treaties as only provisional, the *Lombard*, apprized of the Exarch *Eutichius*'s Weakness, fell suddenly, and without any Declaration of War upon the City of *Ravenna*, which the Exarch, after a weak Resistance, surrendered upon Terms. All the other Places of the Exarchate followed the Example of the Capital, and opened their Gates to the Victor.

\* Or *Aistulpho*.

The Pope, alarmed at the Rapidity of his Conquests, and apprehending that he would turn his Arms against *Rome*, dispatched Courier upon Courier to sollicit the Emperor to send Aid into *Italy*, whilst the Governor of *Rome* caused several Bodies of Troops to march into it from the Places which still acknowledged the Authority of the Empire.

*Astolpho*, informed of the Measures taken against him, sent to summons the Inhabitants of *Rome* to acknowledge him their Sovereign; and to pay him by way of Tribute, as they did the Exarchs, a *Sols d'Or per Head*; he founded his Pretensions in this Manner, that as that City, formerly the Capital of the World, was then Part of the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, of which he was Master, it ought to follow the Fortune of that good Government, and acknowledge him as its Prince; and the better to determine the Citizens of that great City to open their Gates to him, he entered their Territory at the Head of his Army, laid the Country waste, burnt all before him, and plundered the Houses and Castles, without sparing those of the Pope, which were called, as we have said before, the Courts of St. Peter.

The People of *Rome* impatiently expected Aid from *Constantinople*. But besides the great Distance, and continual Wars, which the Emperor *Constantine* was obliged to sustain against the *Saracens* and *Bulgarians*, and which would not admit his sending an Army so suddenly into *Italy*; he believed it sufficient, for the Majesty of the Empire, to send *John* his Secretary to the King of the *Lombards*, to complain of the Infraction of the Truce, and to reclaim the Exarchate with all its Dependances.

But a mere Negotiator, without the Forces necessary to give Weight to his Proposals, had no Success. The *Lombard*, to amuse the Emperor, and the Inhabitants of *Rome*, contented himself with sending an Ambassador to *Constantinople*, and, at the same Time, kept *Rome* closely blocked up, in hopes of reducing it to surrender by Famine, and the want of Provisions.

The Pope, who was afraid of falling into Subjection to him, resumed the ancient Scheme of his Predecessors, and resolved to implore Aid from the *French*. He flattered himself, that he should drive the *Lombards* by their Arms not only out of the Territory of *Rome*, but the Exarchate, without any Reason to fear that the *French* would entertain Thoughts of establishing their Power in a Region so remote from their own Country, and in a Canton situated in the Midst of Provinces dependant either upon the *Greek Empire*, or the King of the *Lombards*. But as he was apprehensive, that the principal Citizens of *Rome* might be averse to calling in a foreign Power without the Consent of their Sovereign, he had Recourse to the grand Machine Religion, so capable of determining Mankind, and against which the common People especially never make any Resistance.

He appointed publick Prayers to be said, to implore the Aid of Heaven. He afterwards made solemn Processions, in which the Relicks and Images of the Saints were exposed, with whatever excites Veneration in the Minds of good Christians. Even the Treaty of Peace, which the *Lombard* had broken, was fastened to the Cross, as it were to demand Justice of God for the Infraction of his Engagement.

The Pope, followed by all the Clergy of *Rome*, appeared in this Procession bare-legged, with their Heads

Heads covered with Ashes. He at length got into the Pulpit, and in a pathetick Discourse, interrupted from time to time by Sighs and Tears, he represented to the Multitude that surrounded him, the unfortunate Condition of *Italy*, the want of Power, and Remoteness of the Greek Emperors, the Ambition and Ferocity of the *Lombards*, and especially the Danger of the City of *Rome*, should it fall into their Hands. He exaggerated the Calamities and terrible Consequences of a City carried by Storm; Men put to the Sword, Priests butchered at the Altars, the Chastity of Wives and Maids exposed to the Brutality of the Soldier; and the furious *Lombards* carrying Fire and Sword on all Sides, and renewing the sad Remembrance of the Cruelty of the *Gotbs* and *Vandals*.

The whole Assembly could not hear so moving a Discourse, without Groans mingled with Tears. The Pope \* seeing how much they were affected with it, and in a Manner transported with Grief, cried out, as if suddenly inspired by Heaven, That it was the Will of God, they should address themselves to *Pepin*, the Son of an illustrious Father, in Consideration of whom *Rome* had formerly been delivered from the Arms of King *Luitprand*. Every Body applauded this Proposal; and the Pontiff made his political Projects pass for Revelation, though they had no other Source than the Desire of ridding himself of all Subjection to temporal Princes.

With this View he sent a Deputy into *France*, with a Letter for King *Pepin*, full of the warmest and most affecting Expressions, and exhorting him to deliver *Rome* from the Tyranny of the *Lom-*

\* The Pope *Stephen II.* calls in *Pepin* to reduce the Power of the *Lombards* in *Italy*.

bards. He conjured him, by the same Letter, to send Embassadors to him, by whose means he might pass into *France*, to inform him in Person of the Condition in which *Italy* then was. There is another of the same Pontiff's Letters extant, which he addresses to the Lords of *France*, and wherein he conjures them to be favourable to him with the King; that is to say, that they would induce him to take Arms against the *Lombards*; and he promised them, that by the Intercession of St. Peter, whose own Cause it is, says he, their Sins should be obliterated, and they should obtain for their good Offices an hundred-fold in this World, and eternal Life in the other.

*Pepin*, at his Request sent *Chrodegand*, Bishop of *Metz*, and Duke *Auctarius* into *Italy*. Those two Envoys went first to *Astolpho*, whom they desired in the Name of the King their Master to grant a Suspension Arms; and that during the Truce, the Pope and principal Citizens of *Rome* might repair to *Pavia*, in order to terminate all Differences amicably.

*Astolpho*, who did not care to draw the Arms of the *French* into his Dominions, caused the Blockade of *Rome* to be raised, and out of regard for *Pepin*, consented to an Interview with the Pope. The *French* Envoys went afterwards to *Rome*, where they found an Officer from the Emperor, who had brought an Order from that Prince \* in Writing, directed to the Pope, by which he commanded him to repair with that Officer to the Court of the King of the *Lombards*, and to reclaim the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*.

This Order of the Sovereign's being conformable to the Pope's secret Views, he set out from

\* *Regiam Fussionem.*

Rome with the Emperor's Envoy, and those of the King of France. When he was near *Pavia*, *Astolpho* sent to tell him that he must not presume to talk of restoring *Ravenna*, the Exarchate, and the other Places of the Empire in the Audience he should give him. But *Stephen* replied with great Constancy, that no Fear should prevent him from exhorting him to restore to every one what was their Right. The Emperor's Envoy being arrived at *Pavia*, made warm Instances for that Restitution; he even offered considerable Sums by way of Amends, and to defray the Expences of the War. The Pope, on his Side, made use of Intreaties, and represented to the King of the *Lombards*, that he could not keep two Provinces, which from immemorial Time had made Part of the Empire. *Astolpho* replied fiercely, that such Discourse became him less than any one; that he could not forget, it was at the Desire of the two Popes *Gregory*, and even at his own, that the *Lombards* had made War with the Emperors as Heretics; and that he well knew to defend and retain Conquests, which had cost him immense Sums, and the best Blood of his Nation. *Pepin*'s Envoys, seeing there was no room to expect the Conclusion of a Peace, confined themselves to demanding of *Astolpho*, in the Name of the King their Master, a Passport for their Safe-conduct of the Pope into *France*. It is not easy to express the Surprize and Rage of the King of *Lombardy* upon this Proposal. He saw plainly that so extraordinary a Journey concealed secret Designs, of which the Event could never be in his Favour. He sent some *Lombard* Lords to the Pope to dissuade him from it; but finding him unalterable, he was obliged at length to give his Consent, and the Pass was granted. The Pope immediately set forwards; passed

passed with extreme Diligence through the Dominions of *Astolpho*, for fear of being stopt; and arrived safe in the Territory of *France*.

When *Pepin* received Advice that he was arrived in his Dominions, he first sent the Abbot *Fulrad*, Arch-Chaplain, or Master of the Chapel of the Palace, and the Duke *Rotard* to meet him. *Charles*, the King's eldest Son, a Prince of twelve Years old, followed them soon after, and conducted the Pope to the Castle of *Pont-yon* in *Champaigne*, where the King then was. The Pope was received at the Court of *France*, with all the Marks of Respect due to the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and the common Father of all Christians.

The Pontiff offered *Pepin* magnificent Presents, and ordered a great Quantity to be distributed amongst the principal Lords of the Court, in order to engage them in his Interests. In the publick Audience which he obtained the next Day, he prostrated himself at the King's Feet with the Ecclesiasticks in his Train, all drest in Sackcloth, with their Heads covered with Ashes, conjuring that Prince, by the Merits of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, to deliver the *Roman* People from the Persecution of the *Lombards*. The Pope continued in that Posture, and would not rise, till the King and the principal Lords of *France* offered him their Hands, as a Mark and Pledge of the Protection they granted him. The Pope and King afterwards withdrew to confer in private; and *Pepin* promised the sovereign Pontiff upon Oath, to cause the Exarchate with its Dependances to be restored to the Empire.

Whilst the Court was at *Pont-yon*, the King and the Pontiff often saw each other. They had each their particular Views; and were both intent upon turning this Interview to their own Advantage.

*Pepin*

*Pepin* was not without Disquiet in Regard to his Successor: The *French* had indeed elected him King; but not yet explained themselves concerning his Posterity; and tho' in the first Race the Crown had been hereditary, the Form of Government seemed to have been changed by the Abdication of *Childerick*; and *Pepin* apprehended that the *French* would retain the Right of Election, so much in Favour of publick Liberty; and that after his Death the Crown might be transferred into another House. He was particularly afraid, lest that Choice should fall upon *Dragon*, the Son of *Carloman*, his eldest Brother; whose Memory was still dear to the principal Lords of the Kingdom of *Austrasia*.

*Pepin*, to establish the Crown in his House, proposed to the Pope, under Pretext of renewing the Ceremony of his Coronation, the consecrating his two Sons, *Charles* and *Carloman*, at the same Time; with the View, that the Veneration which all the *French* had for the Pope, and the Request and Counsels of that Pontiff, might induce them to acknowledge the two young Princes for his Successors.

*Stephen* readily offered to do the King these Offices, in Hopes of gaining others from him of no less Advantage to himself: And those two able Politicians formed a strict Alliance, which their mutual Interest cemented. The Pope, who saw clearly the King's Occasion for him, opened himself to that Prince upon the principal Motive of his Journey; and tho' his Predecessors and himself had only sollicited the Restitution of the Exarchate in Favour of the Empire, of which it was Part, this Pontiff was not ashamed to make the King promise, that when he should have expell'd the *Lombards* out of that Province, he would never restore it either to the Empire or Emperors; and

made him pass an anticipated Donation, signed jointly by the King and his Children\*. The Pope, after having taken these Measures with *Pepin*, withdrew to the Abbey of St. *Dennis*, whilst the King repaired to *Crecy* † upon the *Oise*, where he held a Parliament, in order to resolve in it upon a War against the *Lombards*, according to his Agreement with the Pope. It was not without Surprize, that Assembly saw *Carloman*, the eldest Brother of *Pepin*, arrive, who, as we have said before, had shut himself up in the Monastery of *Mont-Cassin*, situate in the Dominions of the King of *Lombardy*. That Prince, who very much suspected the Pope's Journey, and apprehended that he would occasion the *French* to declare against him, had required the Abbot of *Mont-Cassin* to send Prince *Carloman* to the Parliament of *Quiercy*, in order to traverse his Negotiations. ‡ *Carloman* obeyed his Superior, and perhaps was not sorry to revisit *France*, and to see his Children, whom *Pepin*, since his Elevation to the Throne, kept in an Obscurity unworthy of their Birth. That Prince, upon his Arrival at *Quiercy*, represented to the King, his Brother, and the principal Lords of the Kingdom, the Miseries and fatal Effects of a War in a remote Country, of which the Success was very doubtful; and as he was not apprized of the secret Designs of the Pope and the King, he added, that the War itself regarded solely the Emperor of *Constantinople*, Sovereign of *Italy*, and that the Pope could have no other Share in it, at most, than what related to some small Places taken by the *Lom-*

\* He obtains an anticipitated Donation of the Exarchate from *Pepin*.

† Mr. *Fleury* says, *Carisac* or *Quiercy*.

‡ A considerable Difference between the Monks of those Days, and their modern Brethren: A Friar obeys his Abbot, contrary to the Pope's Interests!

*Lards*, the Restitution of which it was easy to obtain, without making a *French Army* pass the *Alps*.

These Reflections made great Impression upon the Assembly, especially from the Mouth of a Prince, who could not be suspected of any Interest, and whose Rank besides, which he had held in the Monarchy, they had not yet forgot. The humble and mortified Habit of a simple Monk, which he wore, added new Weight to his Reasons, and augmented the Respect and Veneration of the whole Assembly. So that he obtained, before War should be declared against the King of *Lombardy*, that Embassadors should be sent to him to persuade him to a Peace.

Upon the Arrival of those Envoys at *Pavia*, the Negotiation began. *Astolpho*, for the Sake of Peace, was willing to recede from the Dutchy of *Rome*, as a Member of the Exarchate. He offered not to molest the Citizens of *Rome* any further upon the Point of the Tribute, which they formerly paid the Exarchs: but he declared plainly, that he was determin'd not to part with the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*, which he had conquered from the *Greeks*, whose Dominions, he said, it did not in the least concern the *French* Interest to defend. That Prince flattered himself, that the Pope and the King would be equally satisfied with these Proposals: But upon the Return of the *French* Ambassadors, the Pope and the King firmly persevered to insist upon the Restitution of those Provinces, in favour of the Empire. The War was at length resolved; and the Pope, to rid himself of Prince *Carloman*, who had endeavoured to frustrate all his Measures, in Concert with the King, caused him to be shut up in a Monastery in the City of *Vienne*, where he died the same Year. The carrying off the Princes his Children, who disappeared at the

same Time, gave Room to suspect that their Father's Death had not been natural.

Whilst the Pope acted this Part in the Theatre of *France*, and set these different Springs of his Policy in Motion there, that Pontiff was taken dangerously ill at St. *Dennis*, where he generally resided. He afterwards recovered; but in order to attract the Veneration of the *French*, he told the King, and gave out publickly, that he owed the Recovery of his Health solely to a surprizing Miracle, which had been done in his Favour, and of which he relates the several Circumstances in one of his Letters.

He says, that having caused himself to be carried into the Church of St. *Dennis*, under the Bells, St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* appeared to him, followed by St. *Dennis*, who was attended by a Deacon and a Sub-deacon\*; and that this Saint held a Palm in one Hand and a Censer in the other. He leaves out nothing, and describes exactly the Stature, Visage, and Vestments of all those holy Personages. He adds, that St. *Dennis* made Intercession for him to the Prince of the Apostles; that St. *Peter* answered him, that he granted him the sick Person's Health; and that St. *Dennis* advancing at the same Time, said to him: 'Peace be with you, Brother; fear not, you shall soon return to your Church: Arise, consecrate this Altar in Honour of God, and the two Apostles, who have restored your Health; and celebrate Mass upon it in thanksgiving for so great a Benefit.'

In this Manner the Pope published the Account of this Miracle or Vision. That Pontiff, finding himself cured, immediately applied to the Execution of the Orders of Heaven. Every Thing was prepared in the Church of St. *Dennis*,

\* Some Historians say a Priest and a Deacon.

for the Consecration of this Altar ; infinite Numbers of People ran from all Parts, to be present at a Ceremony prescribed by the Mouth of St. Dennis himself. It is not possible to say to what a Degree the Report of so many wonderful Things encreased the Pope's Credit and Estimation amongst the *French*.

The Holy Father resolved to take the Advantage of this Disposition of the People for keeping his Word with *Pepin*. The very Day he consecrated the Altar and said Mass at it, he crowned the King, Queen *Bertha* his Wife, and the Princes *Charles* and *Carloman* their Children. He added an Excommunication to that Ceremony, which he thundered out against all the *French*, that after *Pepin*'s Death should propose any other Prince or Lord for his Successor, who should not be of his Blood ; and the more firmly to engage *Pepin* and the Princes his Sons to make War against the King of the *Lombards*, he publickly declared them *Patricii* (*Protectors*, *Patrons*) of *Rome*. *Pepin* however sent Embassadors three several Times to *Astolpho*, to exhort him to restore to the Empire and the Church of *Rome* the Places and Castles he had seized : Which Steps he took by the Pope's Consent, who, from the Uncertainty of the Event of this War, was still willing to retain, for some Time, the Merit of acting only for the Interests of the Emperor his Sovereign.

*Astolpho*, on his Side, who could not imagine that the *French* would determine to pass the *Alps* for the Interest of the *Greeks*, with whom they were in no Alliance, declared his Resolution to retain his Conquests : And in the mean time, to prevent Surprize, threw several Bodies of Troops into the Defiles of the Mountains, to dispute the Passage of them.

*Pepin,*

*Pepin*, at the Pope's Instances, did not fail to advance ; he forced those Passes ; nothing could resist the Valour of his Soldiers ; they drove all before them. He afterwards entered the Plain, spread Terror on all Sides, and having ravaged the Country, sat down before *Pavia*, which he besieged. It was the strongest Place, and, in a Manner, the Bulwark of *Lombardy*. *Astolpho* had shut himself up in it with his best Troops : The Siege was long, and the Defence very vigorous and obstinate ; but *Astolpho* apprehending that he should be overpowered at length by the *French* Arms, a Negotiation was set on foot. The Holy Father made himself Mediator in it ; whether it were to prevent the Effusion of Christian Blood, or perhaps out of Fear, if *Pepin* should carry that Place, lest he should push his Conquests farther, and make himself Master of all *Italy*. Whichever of these was his Motive, after many Conferences it was at last agreed, that *Astolpho* should resign the Exarchate to the King of *France*, and the Courts of St. *Peter* to the Pope : And, for the Execution of his Engagement, he delivered forty Hostages, chosen out of the principal Lords of his Nation. *Pepin*, persuaded that with such Pledges the *Lombard* would not dare to fail in performing Conditions, thought proper to resume his Route to *France*, before the Snow shut up the Passes of the *Alps*, and at the same Time caused the Pope to be reconducted to *Rome*, by Prince *Jerom*, the natural Son of *Charles Martel*, and *Fulrad*, Abbot of St. *Dennis*.

*Astolpho* believed that the Absence of the *French* discharged him from the Observation of a Treaty which only the Fear of their Arms had induced him to sign. He was extremely enraged against the Pope, who had drawn such formidable Enemies upon him ; and to be revenged, resolved, whilst

whilst Winter prevented the *French* from repassing the *Alps*, to attempt the Siege of *Rome*; convinc'd that Success would either cause his Breach of Promise to be forgot, or put him into a Condition not to fear the Effect of it; and he began the Execution of this secret Design, by delaying, upon different Pretexts, the Evacuation of the Places he was to restore to the Pope and the Empire.

He re-assembled with the utmost Expedition his Troops dispersed in several Places, made new Levies in secret, marched directly to *Rome*, invested it, and summoned the Inhabitants to deliver up the Pope, under Pretext that he had drawn the *French* into *Italy*. *Astolfo* flattered himself, that the *Romans*, to avoid the Dangers of a Siege, would put the Pope into his Hands; or at least, that this Proposal would find Adherents, and excite Division in the City. But all the Citizens continued firmly attached to the sovereign Pontiff; and even sustained the Attacks of the *Lombards* with so much Courage for almost three Months, that they gave the *French* time to advance to their Aid.

The Pope, to hasten *Pepin's* March, wrote him Letters upon Letters. Nothing is more pathick, than that Pontiff's Expressions: 'I conjure you, in the Name of God (addressing himself to the King of *France*, and his Sons) by the glorified Virgin, by all celestial Virtues, and by St. Peter, who consecrated you King, to deliver us from the Arms of the *Lombards*, and to put us into Possession of the Places included in the Donation, which you have made to St. Peter your Protector. You know, that we have confided the Interests of the Holy Church to you; and you shall render an Account to God and St. Peter, at the terrible Day of Judgment of the Zeal which you shall shew in their Defence. 'Tis to

‘ to you that so meritorious a Work has been re-  
 ‘ served ; none of your Ancestors have been di-  
 ‘ stinguished by so glorious a Grace of Heaven.  
 ‘ It is you alone, whom God, in his eternal Pre-  
 ‘ science, has chosen for this great Work ; for those  
 ‘ whom he hath predestined he hath called,  
 ‘ and those he hath called, he hath justified.’

In this Manner did the Pope apply the aweful Mysteries of Grace and Predestination to the Advancement of his temporal Power. At length, as the Aid did not yet appear, and the *Lombards* redoubled their Efforts, that Pontiff had Recourse to an Artifice, gross indeed, and even void of all Probability, but which shews the Genius of that Age, and how much Men were liable to be imposed on by whatever carried the Face of Religion.

The Pope sent a Letter to the King, in the Name of St. Peter, as having fallen from Heaven. This Letter was addressed to *Pepin*, his Children, the Lords of the Nation, the whole People, and the Armies of *France*. The Title of this Letter is in Imitation of the canonical Epistles, and begins in these Words : ‘ Peter, an Apostle of Jesus Christ, Son of the living God. I conjure you, says that Apostle, to make your Troops march immediately to the Relief of the Church of *Rome*. Suffer not my City and People of *Rome* to be plundered by the *Lombards*, if you would save your Souls and Bodies from eternal Fire. If you readily obey, you shall overcome all your Enemies, live long, enjoy the Fruits of the Earth, and eternal Life hereafter. Otherwise, I declare by the Authority of the Blessed Trinity, and the Power of my Apostleship, that you shall never partake of the Kingdom of Heaven.’

It would be hard to believe, that this Pontiff could have carried Artifice and Fiction to so great

an Height, if his Letters were not still extant; nor are we less surprized to find a kind of Equivocation in them, of which it is so easy to discover the Illusion; I mean those Expressions, wherein the venerable Name of the Church, which ought never to be employed, but to signify the Assembly of the Faithful, is used for the temporal Interests annexed to the Holy See; the Flock of Jesus Christ is made to signify their Bodies, and not Souls; the temporal Promises of the old Law are blended with the spiritual ones of the Gospel; and the most sacred Motives of Religion substituted to an Affair of State.

*Pepin*, as great a Statesman as he was, was not Proof against these holy Quibbles; he believed it concerned his Salvation, to divest the King of the *Lombards* of the Exarchate, in order to give it to the Pope, in Prejudice of the Emperor, to whom it belonged. With this View he repassed the *Alps* at the Head of a powerful Army, beat the *Lombards*, raised the Siege of *Rome*, formed that of *Pavia*, and pushed it with so much Vigour, that *Astolpho*, to save his Capital, and perhaps his Crown, demanded Peace upon whatever Conditions his Enemy should think fit to prescribe. That great Affair was negotiated in the Presence of the Emperor *Constantine's* Embassadors. They had landed at *Marseilles*; but upon being informed that *Pepin* was at that Time actually before *Pavia*, they repaired with all Expedition to his Camp.

The Pope, after *Pepin* had entered *Italy*, made the Donation he had obtained from that Prince no longer a Mystery; wheresore *Constantine's* Ministers, after having congratulated *Pepin* upon the Success of his Arms, represented to him, that the Exarchate and *Pentapolis* were Part of the Empire; that the *Lombards* indeed, in Breach of a Treaty of Peace, and even whilst the Emperor was em-

#### 4      *The Rise and Progress*

ployed in a War with the Saracens, and the common Enemies of Christendom, had possessed themselves of those Provinces; but that he was too just, to intend the enriching of the Pope, a Subject of the Empire, with the Spoils of his Sovereign.

*Pepin* replied, that he had passed the *Alps* to no other End than to deliver the Pope from the Vexations of the *Lombards*; that he had vowed all his Conquests to St. *Peter*; that God had blest his Intentions and Arms with Success; and that he should believe he merited the divine Indignation, if he failed in his Vows and Promises. With this dry Answer he dismissed the Embassadors. He afterwards applied himself in putting it out of *Astolpho's* Power to fail a second Time in his Engagements.

With this View, he requir'd that Prince to execute the Treaty of *Pavia* directly, that is to say, to deliver the Exarchate and *Pentapolis* to his Commissioners; that for the Expences of the War he should give up *Commachio*, with the third Part of his Treasures; and that himself and Successors should acknowledge themselves the Vassals of the Crown of *France* for ever, and pay the ancient Tribute of twelve thousand Crowns (*Sols d'Or*) which had been remitted in the Reign of *Clotaire II.* As hard for a Sovereign as these Conditions were, *Astolpho* was reduced to submit to them, for the Preservation of the rest of his Dominions. He delivered up two and twenty Places to the Abbot *Fulrad*, *Pepin's* Commissioner, who laid the Keys of them upon the Tomb of St. *Peter*, with the Act of Donation made by that Prince of all the profitable Demesne, always subject however to the So-

\* *Pepin* delivers the Places taken from the *Lombards* to the Pope.

vereignty of the Crown of *France*, as we shall see in the Sequel.

*Astolfo* had deferred, under different Pretexts, surrendring *Ferrara*, *Ancona* and *Bologna*, where he still kept several Bodies of Troops in Garison; that haughty and valiant Prince, enraged to see himself deprived of his Conquests by a Priest, waited a favourable Conjunction, and the Advantage of a proper Time, to repossess himself of the Places he had been obliged to give up. But Death prevented the Execution of his Designs; he was killed a Hunting by a Fall from his Horse.

The *Lombards* were divided in their Choice of his Successor. *Didier*, Duke of *Tuscany*, one of *Astolfo's* Generals, being himself at the Head of the Army, did not believe he should find any Competitor. But the other Dukes of that Nation, whether dissatisfied to have their Equal for their Master, sent Deputies to *Rachis*, who had retired, as we have said before, into the Monastery of *Mont-Cassin*, to conjure that Prince to reascend the Throne; and to sacrifice his Love for Retirement to the Safety of his People, and the common Good of the whole Nation.

*Rachis* did not seem averse to giving them that Satisfaction; all the Dukes armed in his Favour. *Didier*, surprized at the Sight of so formidable a Rival, had Recourse to the Pope, and caused him to be told, that if he would vouchsafe to support his Interests with the King of *France*, he would restore the Places to him which had continued in the Possession of the *Lombards*. This Motive determined the Pope; he publickly declared in Favour of this *Lombard*, and against *Rachis*, to whom he signified, that he would not suffer him to quit his Cloister. *Rachis*, full of sincere Piety, renounced the Crown a second Time, to bury himself in his Retreat; and *Didier* was acknowledged King of the *Lombards*.

The

The Pope did not long survive this great Event ; he died about the Year 757. The Deacon *Paul*, his Brother, succeeded him in his Dignity, and Application to extend his temporal Power. He was no sooner seated in the Chair of St. Peter, than he pressed *Didier* to put the three Places into his Hands, in which the *Lombards* still kept Garisons. But that Prince found his Interests changed with his Fortune ; he foresaw the Effects of that Restitution to the Crown of *Lombardy* ; and according to the usual Maxim of Politicians, believed a Prince upon the Throne was discharged from all the Engagements he had entered into for the Attainment of it.

The Pope *Paul* complained of this to *Pepin* ; and wrote to him in no less pressing Terms than Pope *Stephen* had done before. His Letters have every where great Professions of Piety mingled and confounded with warm Exhortations to make War against the *Lombards*. If we did not know, that for more than 150 Years, that Nation had been Catholicks, we might believe from reading these Letters, that they related to the taking Arms against *Barbarians* and *Infidels*, the Enemies of God and the true Religion. However those Letters had no other View than to arm Christian Princes against each other, for an Interest merely temporal ; and this Pope, after the Example of his latter Predecessors, made no Scruple to annex spiritual Obligation to them, and to menace those with the Wrath of God and Damnation, who should not declare themselves against the *Lombards*.

But *Pepin* did not suffer himself to be moved upon this Occasion ; whether he had more urgent Affairs upon his Hands, or did not find it just and advantageous to his State to enter into a War with the *Lombards*. The Death of this Prince changed even the Disposition of the *French* in regard

gard to that Nation, and the ancient Alliance of *Charles Martel* with *Luitprand* was renewed between *Didier* and *Charlemagne*, the Son and Successor of *Pepin*.

The whole *French Monarchy* had been divided after *Pepin's* Death between *Charles* and *Carloman*. A Misunderstanding soon rose up between the two Brothers, both Kings, and Neighbours. *Carloman* complained of having been injured in that Partition: *Didier*, intent upon what passed in *France*, the Power of which he dreaded, dexterously fomented these Divisions. He found means to make himself agreeable to *Carloman*, whom he caused to be secretly assured of his Troops, those of the Duke of *Bavaria* his Son-in-law, and the Forces of the Duke of *Aquitain* his Ally, great Vassals of the Crown of *France*. Every thing tended to a Rupture between the two Brothers. Queen *Bertha*, or *Bertrade*, *Pepin's* Widow, moved with the Discord between the Kings her Sons, undertook to reconcile them. It was necessary to bring over *Didier*, whose Counsels had great Influence with *Carloman*.

The King of the *Lombards* had three Children; a Son called *Adalgisus*, and two Daughters. *Thafillon*, Duke of *Bavaria*, had married the eldest, named \* *Luitberga*. Queen *Bertha*, to interest the *Lombard* in this Reconciliation, formed the Design of marrying her Daughter *Gizela*, or *Gisla*, Sister of the two *French Kings*, to *Adalgisus*, and at the same Time to make her eldest Son *Charles* espouse *Didier's* youngest Daughter, called *Hermengarda*, though *Charles* was already married to the Daughter of a *French Lord* named † *Himiltrude*. For in

\* Or *Luitperga*.

† *Pepin*, says *Mezeray*, had married his two Sons, it is not said to whom. Perhaps they were only contracted; but if they had consummated Marriage, they must have been divorced; for their Mother obliged them to take other Wives.

these Times the least Pretext made way for a Divorce, which was become an almost general Abuse, especially amongst Sovereigns; and it is plain the Queen Dowager of *France* did not believe this first Marriage could be an Obstacle to so great a Good, as the Peace she concerted between the Princes her Sons.

However it was, the Negotiation very much advanced. Pope *Stephen III.* who had lately succeeded *Paul I.* was not apprized of it without great Grief; he foresaw the Consequences, and what he had to fear from so strict an Alliance between the Kings of *France* and *Lombardy*. That Pontiff wrote upon it to both the *French* Kings; he employed various Reasons in his Letters to frustrate this Negotiation; some solid, and deduced from the Indissolubility of *Charles's* first Marriage, and others frivolous enough; but both equally conformable to his Interests, and in the Stile of his Predecessors. He represented to them this Alliance as the Work of the Devil, and the *Lombards* as a Nation contemptible, perfidious, infected with the Leprosy, and unworthy of the Alliance of the illustrious and noble House of *France*. He added, by wresting the Sense of the Scripture to his own Views, that by the Law of God all Alliances of Marriage with Strangers were prohibited; which was true with regard to the *Jewish* People, and the unbelieving idolatrous Nations; but could never be applicable to Christian Princes, with whom such Alliances, on the contrary, serve for the Support of Peace.

But all Motives seemed solid to the Pope, provided they might conduce to make the *French* Princes averse to this Alliance. He concluded his Letter with conjuring them, in the Name of St. *Peter*, and by the Fear of the Judgment of God, to oblige the *Lombards* immediately to restore the

Places

Places they still held in the Dependance of the Exarchate: And to render this Remonstrance the more effectual, he informs them, that he had laid his Letter upon the Tomb of St *Peter*, whilst he celebrated the blessed Sacrifice of the Mass; and that it was to that Prince of the Apostles they will answer for the Rights of the Church: The whole upon Pain of Excommunication, Anathema, and eternal Damnation.

These Exhortations and Prayers made little Impression upon the Court of *France*. Queen *Bertha* went to *Italy*; where, after she had concerted a Kind of Accommodation between the Pope and *Didier*, she brought the Daughter of that Prince into *France*, whom *Charles* espoused on her Return; but the Project of the Marriage of Prince *Adalgisus* with *Gizela* did not take Effect.

At the same Time *Didier* secured himself of the Alliance of *France* by the Marriage of his Daughter, he formed also different Intrigues to embroil that Court with the Court of *Rome*, and to deprive the Popes of a Protection from which they derived all their Grandeur. The Pope had two Officers, who divided his Confidence between them, and of Course were Rivals in his Favour. The first, whose Name was *Christopher*, was Primiciar, or supreme Dean of the Church, to whom the Pope was indebted for his Dignity. *Paul Afarius*, that Pontiff's Chamberlain, had no less Power with him. *Christopher* and *Sergius* his Son, in effect of the Services they had done *Stephen* at his Election, ruled their Master a little too imperiously. They perpetually represented to the Pope, that he ought, after the Example of his Predecessors, to renew his Instances with the Kings of *France*, in order to oblige *Didier* to evacuate the Places he still retained in the Exarchate. Tho' this proceeded only from the good Intentions of the Father

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ther and Son, the Pope however was weary of Counsels they were for imposing upon him as Laws. The Chamberlain took the Advantage of this Disposition, and got Ground of them in the Pontiff's Favour. *Didier*, apprized of his Credit, brought him over to his Interests, and they agreed to rid themselves of a common Enemy. *Didier*, to obtain his Ends, signified to the Pope that he was desirous of visiting the Church and Tombs of the Holy Apostles, which were without the Walls of *Rome*. *Stephen*, prepared by the Chamberlain, who represented to him that this was a favourable Conjunction to get the Places that Prince still held, out of his Hands in an amicable Manner, replied to *Didier*'s Envoys, That if he came with the Design of restoring to the Church what he kept from it, he should be welcome. But the Primiciar and his Son, convinced that this Voyage of Devotion concealed other Designs, advised the Pope not to suffer himself to be surprized by that Prince: And as *Rome* was at that Time rather without a Master, than at Liberty, *Christopher* and his Son, who had the principal Authority in the City, made several Bodies of Troops march into it, from the Pope's new Dominions. The Chamberlain, on his Side, under Pretext of providing for the Safety of his Master, made all his Adherents take Arms. All *Rome* was in Arms. The Primiciar to prevent the *Lombards* from entering the City; and the Chamberlain to avoid being surprized by his Enemy. In the mean time *Didier* arrived with a large Body of Troops, a Guard little consistent with a Pilgrimage, and a Journey of Devotion; and demanded an Interview with the Pope.

The Primiciar was against it, and did all he could to dissuade the Pope from it; but the Chamberlain's Advice prevailed. *Stephen* quitted

*Rome*,

*Rome*, and repaired to the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul: He entered into a Conference with the King of the *Lombards*, which began with reciprocal Complaints. *Didier* declared his Resentment of the Distrust expressed by the Pope, and Citizens of *Rome*, who had taken Arms upon his Arrival. *Stephen*, on his Side, reproached him with the Non-performance of his Engagement, made with his Predecessor, to restore the Places of the Exarchate. Whilst they were treating their mutual Pretensions, News was brought the Pope, that the Primiciar and Chamberlain, each at the Head of his Party, were upon the Point of coming to Blows: That the principal Citizens of *Rome* had declared for the Chamberlain, upon his having persuaded them, that the Primiciar, out of his Attachment for *France*, prevented the Re-union of the Pope and *Lombard*, and was the Cause, by his ill Counsels, of all the Ravages committed by that Prince upon their Lands, and in the Country. The whole People, inflamed by these Reports, demanded the Death of the Primiciar. The Pope returned into *Rome*, to put a Stop to this Disorder. *Christopher*, *Sergius* his Son, *Dodon*, King *Carloman's* Envoy, with some other *French* still armed, came to the Pontiff, and reproached him for holding Intelligence with the *Lombard*.

These ill-timed Reproaches had the same Effect as the Chamberlain's Flattery and Insinuations. The Pope, irritated by their Want of Respect, entered into a stricter Union with *Didier*: he went to him a second Time; and after having conferred with him, *Stephen* sent to tell the Primiciar and his Son, that he gave them their Choice, either to shut themselves up in a Monastery for the rest of their Lives, or to repair immediately to the Church of St. Peter, to justify themselves

before him, and the King of the *Lombards*, in regard to the several Crimes laid to to their Charge.

The Father and Son at first refused to chuse either ; but it was no sooner known at *Rome*, that the Pope had sacrificed them to the King of the *Lombards*, than all their Friends abandoned them ; they even fell into the Hands of the *Lombards*, in endeavouring to make their Escape. *Didier* sent them back to the Pope, who gave them to understand, that they had no other Means to save their Lives, than by putting on religious Habits, which they were obliged to promise. They were confined ; and the Chamberlain, in concert with the King of the *Lombards*, apprehending they might regain the Pope's Confidence, caused their Eyes to be put out. *Christopher* died some Days after ; his Son was cruelly put to Death a little before the Decease of *Stephen* ; and all their Friends and Adherents banished by the Chamberlain.

After this bloody Tragedy, the Pope and *Lombard* separated, equally satisfied with each other ; and the Pope especially, convinced by *Didier's* Promises and Oaths that he was going to restore immediately the Places he held in the Dependance of the Exarchate. He was so fully assured of it, that he wrote at the same Time to *Charles* the French King, and Queen *Bertha* his Mother, in Favour of that Prince, to whom he gave great Praises in his Letters. He is no longer perfidious, a Leper, a Man whose Alliance and Correspondence was abominable, as he had called him in his former Letters. He stiles him his most excellent Son ; he acknowledges that he had saved him, and all the Clergy of *Rome*, from the pernicious Designs of the Primiciar and his Son ; and that he was indebted to him alone for his Life. He adds, that his most dear Son, the King of the *Lombards*, whom God preserve, had fully and entirely restored to him all the Demesnes of St. Peter. However,

However, it was not long before the Court of France received Letters from him of a quite different Nature; and he wrote to the two Kings to conjure them to command the King of the *Lombards* to restore immediately the Places which belonged to the Church of *Rome*. This Difference of Conduct was founded upon *Didier's* Behaviour, who flattering himself, that he had embroiled the Pope with the Court of *France*, by the Treatment of the *Primiciar* and his Son, that were its firm Adherents, took off the Mask; and upon the Instances made to him by the Pope, to execute the Promise he had given him in the Church of *St. Peter*, he answered, that he was well assured the Kings of *France*, and *Carloman* especially, were preparing to enter *Italy*, to revenge the Death of the *Primiciar* their Creature, who had only acted conformably to their Orders, and that therefore neither of them ought to have any other Thoughts at present, than to unite more strictly in order to defend the Entrance of *Italy*, against those Princes.

The Pope perceived too late his Error, in having given in to the self-interested Counsels of that Prince. The Death of that Pontiff, and *Carloman\**, gave a new Face to Affairs, and brought the *French* to Blows again with the *Lombards*. *Charles*, whom we shall call for the future *Charles the Great*, or *Charlemagne*, possessed himself of his Brother's Dominions; and re-united the whole *French* Monarchy under himself.

*Adrian*, of a noble *Roman* Family, succeeded *Stephen* at the same Time. That new Pontiff, either more politick than his Predecessor, or raised to *St. Peter's* Chair by an opposite Faction, acted

\* *Carloman* died the fourth of December 771. and Pope *Stephen III.* the first of February 772.

quite differently to the Conduct of *Stephen*; he recalled the Adherents of the Primiciar, and all those whom *Paul Aficius* had caused to be banished, in concert with the King of *Lombardy*. The Chamberlain was afterwards proceeded against, and having fallen into the Hands of the Magistrate of *Ravenna*, expiated by his own, the Deaths of *Christopher* and his Son, whom he had treated with so much Cruelty.

Happily for the Pope, the Alliance which then subsisted between *Charlemagne* and *Didier* was broke. The first Cause of their Misunderstanding arose from the King of *France*'s having repudiated the *Lombard*'s Daughter, for certain InfirmitieS, which prevented her having Issue. *Didier*, to be revenged on that Account, gave Refuge in his Court to *Hunaud*, Duke of *Aquitain*, who had revolted against *Charlemagne*; and he received at the same Time *Carloman*'s Widow and Children, who had taken Refuge in his Dominions, from the Apprehension of being treated in the same Manner as *Pepin* had formerly used the Children of the first *Carloman* his Brother, of whom we have spoke before.

The King of the *Lombards*, to embroil the Pope with the King of *France*, offered to restore the Places of the Exarchate so long in question; upon Condition, that he would crown *Carloman*'s Children. But *Adrian*, instructed by his Predecessor's Example, avoided that Snare; and after having made a Merit with *Charlemagne* of refusing to crown the Princes his Nephews, he implored the Aid of his Arms against their common Enemy; and conjured him to cause the Donation, which his Father King *Pepin* had made to the Holy See, and himself had subscribed, to be fully executed.

The King of *France*, who saw plainly, that *Didier*'s whole Endeavour was to excite a Civil War in

in France, in order to prevent him from carrying his Arms into Italy, resolved to frustrate that Design ; and after various unsuccessful Negotiations, he set so numerous an Army on Foot, and so formidable a Body of Troops, that it was easy to discern he had farther Views in this War, than to cause certain Castles and Places, from which the Lombard could not yet resolve to withdraw his Garisons, to be restored to the Holy See.

Charlemagne at the Head of his Troops advanced to the Entrance of the Alps ; he found the Passes possessed by those of *Didier* ; and came several Times to Blows, without being able to force them. The French, discouraged by so obstinate a Defence, began to think of retiring, when a panick Terror, and perhaps the Pope's Money and Emissaries, occasioned the Lombards to fly. They abandoned their Colours, and so advantageous a Post on a sudden. *Didier* was obliged to share in their Flight. The French finding no other Obstacle, but the Difficulty of the Ways, passed the Mountains in different Places, and entered the Plain. *Didier* having thrown himself into Pavia, and *Adalgisus* his Son, with *Carloman's* Widow and Children, having shut themselves up in Verona, Charlemagne formed the Siege of both those Places at the same Time.

*Adalgisus* made but a weak Defence. That Prince, to avoid falling into the Hands of the French, fled to Constantinople. The Inhabitants of Verona, upon seeing themselves abandoned by their Sovereign's Son, opened their Gates, and delivered up the Widow and Children of *Carloman*, who were carried Prisoners into France. History not saying what became of them, makes it easy to conceive their unhappy Destiny ; and that they were either put into Convents, or out of the World.

*Didier*

46. *The Rise and Progress*

*Didier* shewed more Valour in the Defence of *Pavia*. He had caused a whole Army to enter it, consisting of all his best Troops. *Charlemagne* saw, that only Time, and the want of Provisions could make him Master of that Place. He shut up all the Avenues; and during that kind of Blockade, made a Journey to *Rome*, out of Devotion, and to visit the Tombs of the Holy Apostles. The Magistrates, and all the Orders of the City, went out to meet him, and the Pope received him with all the Honours paid to the *Patricii* and *Exarchs*.

The Pope and King held several Conferences upon the Subject of this War, and entered into a strict Union with each other. The Interests of the Emperors of *Constantinople* were no longer talked of, tho' *Adrian* upon his succeeding to the Pontificate had acknowledged them his Sovereigns.

In this first Journey to *Rome*, it is pretended, that the Pope presented the King with the Codex of the Ecclesiastical Canons, according to the Edition of *Dennis le Petit*. *Adrian*, in his Discourse addressed to him, wished that Prince might soon become Master of *Pavia*, and entirely conquer the Kingdom of *Lombardy*. *Charlemagne* on his Side, confirmed *Pepin's* Donation by his Letters, and returned afterwards to his Army. The Inhabitants of *Pavia*, pressed by Famine, rose against *Didier*, and in the Tumult killed *Hunaud*, Duke of *Aquitain*, as the Author of this War, and the Miseries they suffered. The King of the *Lombards*, apprehending that they would deliver him up to *Charlemagne*, believed he should receive a more favourable Treatment from his Enemy, by opening the Gates of the City to him. He submitted, with his Wife and Children, to the Conqueror's Discretion, who sent him into *France* in the Year 774, where he was shut up in the Monastery of *Corbie*, for the rest of his Life.

The

The Dukes and principal Lords of the *Lombards*, in no great Union amongst themselves, and without King or Chief, submitted to *Charlemagne*. He was solemnly acknowledged and crowned King of *Lombardy*. That Prince subjected all *Italy* to *France*. He \* afterwards put the Pope into Possession of the Places he claimed; and some Historians pretend, that he considerably augmented *Pepin's Donation*.

But if this Prince extended the Pope's Possessions, he knew how at the same Time to confine his temporal Authority in them, within the just Bounds of Subjects, dependant on a superior Power. We have seen that the two *Gregories*, and their Successors, under Pretext of preventing the Heresy of the *Iconoclasts* from entering *Italy*, made themselves in a Manner the Heads and Sovereigns of *Rome*, and of Part of *Italy*.

The lawful Power of a Sovereign made this new-born Dominion disappear, or at least suspended it. Every thing afterwards passed by the absolute Orders of *Charlemagne*; his Officers repealed the particular Decrees made by the Popes, with regard to their Vassals; who had Recourse themselves to the King for Justice in their personal Affairs, as happened to *Leo III*.

That Pontiff having succeeding Pope *Adrian*, sent immediately to *Charlemagne*, as *Eginhart* informs us, to carry him the Keys of St. Peter's Tomb, the Standard of the City of *Rome*, the Symbol of the Sovereignty, with Abundance of Presents. Those Legates were instructed to desire the King of *France* to send some Lord of his Court to *Rome*, to receive in his Name, the Oath of Fidelity from the *Romans*; and nothing proves that

\* *Charlemagne* confirms and augments *Pepin's Donation* to the Pope.

Prince's Sovereignty better, than the Cognizance he took of the Insult done to the same Pontiff by *Pascal* and *Campulus*\*, his Predecessor's Nephew.

Those two *Roman* Citizens, mortified by his Elevation to the Pontificate, formed a Conspiracy to destroy him, attacked him in a Procession, and were so violent as to pull out his Eyes, and cut out his Tongue. The Pope fortunately escaped out of the Hands of these Murtherers, and fled to *Charlemagne* to demand his Protection and Justice against the *Romans*. His Enemies on their Side sent Deputies to the King, who charged *Leo* with many Crimes.

The King, for better Information of the Truth, sent Commissioners to *Rome*, who carried the Pope thither, where they employed themselves a whole Week in examining the several Heads of the Accusation laid to his Charge.

*Charlemagne* soon followed his Envoys, passed the Sea, repaired to *Rome*, and applied himself with great Attention to discover the Truth or Falseness of the Crimes imputed to the Pope. There were neither Accusers nor Witnesses against him; the Pope's Oath was admitted, who swore upon the Holy Gospel, that he was not conscious of the Crimes laid to his Charge. *Charlemagne*, after his Oath, declared him innocent; and condemned *Pascal* and *Campulus* to be put to death. But the Pope having demanded Pardon for them, the Sentence was changed into Banishment, and Tranquillity was re-established at *Rome*, by the Authority of that Prince, and the Punishment of the Mutineers.

The Pope and the *Romans*, in Acknowledgment of their Obligation to him, and to secure

\* Mr. *Fleury* says, they were both *Adrian's* Relations, the one Primiciar, and the other Arch-Chaplain.

themselves his Protection, resolved to proclaim him Emperor of the *West*; a Title that had been extinct in the *West* from the Year 476. but which added nothing to the Power of a Prince, who possessed not only *Rome*, the Seat of the Empire, but was also Sovereign of the best Part of *Italy*, and *Germany*, and of all the *Gauls*. It is pretended, that *Leo* to be revenged of the Greek Emperors, who had treated many of the Popes oppressively, took hold of this Occasion to throw off entirely the Dependance upon their Empire. However it was, that Pontiff concerted this Affair with the chief Citizens of *Rome*, who were highly pleased to see that great Title revived in the *West*; and upon *Christmas-Day*, *Charlemagne* being in St. Peter's Church, he put a Crown of Gold upon his Head, and a long Robe of Purple over his Shoulder, in the midst of the Acclamations of the whole People, who cried out on all Sides, *Long Life and Victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by God, the great and pacifick Emperor of the Romans*\*.

The Pope, says our Annalists, paid Adoration to the Emperor. There was however, more Splendor than Advantage, in all this Ceremony, which did not add a Foot of Land to *Charlemagne's* Dominions. And that Prince affirmed afterwards, that if he had foreseen the Pope's Design, he would not have gone to Church that Day, though it was so solemn a Festival. *Leo* always regarded *Charlemagne*, as his Sovereign. Nothing can be more submissive and respectful than the Manner in which he wrote to him; and his Letters mention that this Prince sent into the Dominions, which himself and King *Pepin* had given to

\* This was in the Year 800. or in 801. beginning the Year at *Christmas-Day*.

the Holy See, Officers to administer Justice, and execute his Orders.

Every Thing in *Italy* gave way to the Power of an Emperor equally just and formidable ; but he was no sooner dead, than *Leo* himself and his Successors seemed solely intent upon weakening that Authority, from which they had received all their Grandeur. *Leo's* Predecessors had artfully employed the Arms of the *Lombards* to reduce the Power of the *Greeks*. They had afterwards brought the *French* to Blows with the *Lombards*, who were become too powerful in *Italy*. In fine, after having destroyed the Authority of the Emperors of the *East*, by the Forces of the *Lombards*, and the Monarchy of the latter by the Superiority of the *French* Arms ; they have since employed different Pretexts to throw off also the legal Authority of the latter, and never were at rest, till they had obliged them to quit *Italy*, and repass the *Alps*.

F I N I S.



